1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

565 home and hearing what the people of quality said, whereas her "little sister" was always gadding about, and so was ignorant. Malani was said to know little because the people of Narewandamu brought him up, and he did not come among the nobility until late in life.

The lowborn are supposed to be less honorable in their dealings. The term *kaisi* is used much in the sense of "cad"; the adjective *vakaisi* denotes ungentlemanly, low conduct; and the verb *vakaisini* means to cheat, defraud, to fool. On the other hand the adjective *vaka turanga* indicates a lofty, generous disposition; it is most frequently used, however, in the sense of official, ceremonial, public, as: *ivalavala vakaturanga*, chief-like ways, public function, official ceremony, etiquette; *i songgo vakaturanga*, gathering of nobles, official function, *yanggona vakaturanga*, an official kava ceremony, as opposed to a private kava party.

Some of the gentry of old lived like nobles (*tiko vakaturanga*); they did not work in the fields; now all work, whether gentle or lowborn.

565 576 [516] When coming to interview a superior, a man will sit down with legs crossed. If his presence is not noticed he will cough until he is asked what he wants; then he begins, "It is I, Sir." Pause. "I have come to you, Sir." Pause. "There is one thing I want to talk about with you, Sir," and so on gradually coming to the point, encouraged by an occasional "ump" from his superior. Now, writing is coming very much into use as a medium of petitions to a superior. A servant may send a boy to beg for some paper, pen and ink for him, with which he will write a request to his master to give him some tobacco.

On receiving a present or an order from a great man it is customary to clap slowly with hands crossed; sometimes a man would clap his thighs, but I think that is old fashioned. When the senior nobleman in the house washes his hand, after a meal, all present including his wife, clap hands. For instance Melaia would clap hands when Ratu Isoa her husband washed his hands, but she would not do it for her son. Although this is done by noblemen for noblemen, it is never done for Europeans. Upon meeting a great man after a long absence a man would kiss, or rather smell, the hand of the nobleman, or if a very big man, his foot. Familiars touch noses.

The head of a nobleman is never touched if it can be avoided; if inferiors touch his head, or pass behind his back, or take anything hanging above his head they say *"tilou."* This custom was observed towards any respectable person, not only towards nobles. Only the near relatives of the High Chief's eldest son could cut his hair. His nephew could get only one woman in Tumbou to cut his hair, and she did it under protest. [30-]

If a noble falls down, an inferior will fall down to keep him company (*mbale muri*). The nobleman looking up will say, "Your canoe is in such and such a place," which means "You may have that canoe." If a man

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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Tuimereke leads in Vatuwangga, then Ratu Isoa, who, though the son of Talaiai's eldest son, was not made Lord of Naiau because this "father," Ratu Erone, was living. However, Ratu Finau was appointed by the Government to administer the province, owing to the influence of Mbau, which was paramount in the Native Department, and the people preferred that since he was Provincial Chief, he should also be Sau.

In the old days it is said that the strongest man was chosen as Sau. Another opinion is that it was the most industrious in planting. There was a saying, "This state is going to ruin because it is governed by a man with all his teeth." For a young man is willful and impetuous, while an old man governs mildly.

When the facts and statements of informants are analyzed, it appears that several conflicting principles govern the succession. First, the general custom of a passing from elder to younger brother till that generation is extinct, then taking the next generation in the same order. Second, the tendency to alternate between two houses, Matailakemba and Vatuwangga, descended from two brothers, to the exclusion of two lines that were defeated in civil wars. Third, the tendency to recognize superior nobility of the senior branch. The result is to leave the door open to considerations of character, and to violent usurpation.

If a woman of low rank were brought in state, with the consent of the chiefs, to marry a noble, her son might become Sau. Not so, however, were she brought as servant.

The first Lord of Naiau was Rasolo; his successors were Malani, Taliai, Erone, and Finau. The other three Sau were not in office sufficiently long to receive the title.

The house of the Lord of Naiau is called Big House, and the term Big House is often used as a circumlocution for the Chief. The present Chief keeps up little of the old state; he does not "make the people of the people of the land at home" and feed them. On some nights, Ratu Finau will sit in the middle of the floor of his large native house with visitors, mostly elderly men and no women, seated round the lower end with crossed legs and folded arms or clasped hands, slightly inclined, facing him; not changing their position the entire night. Kava is made by the young people; two persons pounding the kava on one stone—a prerogative allowed only to Tui Naiau. Most of the talking is done by the host in a loud voice and with gesticulations. His guests listen respectfully and occasionally in a low voice make a remark confirming or developing his statements. The kava makers utter no word except the formulae. Anyone entering assumes a stooping posture, sitting down hurriedly, and waiting to speak when spoken to. Any one leaving does so on all fours or in a crouching position.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Whenever the Sau is walking about, whoever comes to report drops to the grass cross-legged and stooping, and claps. When he superintends work, the Sau gives imperative orders. When he goes abroad he is given a wide berth. All practice towards him that avoidance which is exercised between father and son of high rank.

Towards the present Randi Naiau, the nobles are polite but show no fear. The ladies are respectfully familiar, but treat her as a stranger.

Of old, the Lord of Naiau had many wives, but only one bore the title of Lady of Naiau, who was installed at the same time as the Lord of Naiau. Taliai married sisters; upon the death of one who was Lady of Naiau, the second succeeded to the title. The chief wife was also called *lewa mbau* and her house was the chief's. If there was a wife from Mbau she would be Randi Naiau, because Mbau was the greatest state in Fiji.

The other wives are called *i solonga*, a respectful term which means to marry. They obeyed the Randi Naiau. A lady from a state, such as Lomaloma or Totoya, had her individual house. The wives from Lau lived three to five in a house. The cooking was done by the lowborn wives, called kitchen women or servants (*vanda*).

The former state of Lords of Naiau must be reconstituted from heresay:

The Lord of Naiau did not go to the wars. He was old and white-haired and stayed at home, and would say "Do this and that; get a kava bowl from Kambara." He did not go about at night. In the daytime he went a little with his elders (*matapule*) to plant; he then came back and kava was made with the nobles from Tonga. This was done every day, and a feast was brought daily from all Lakemba. The people hunted, fished, and made puddings as a kava collation. There was not a day when the old men were absent from the Big House; their clans in turn would make a feast for them.

Formerly, the elders could not look at or speak to Tui Naiau; their mouth had to be turned away and they looked down. They could not speak back, and would clap their hands by way of answer. If asked a direct question, they answered with averted faces. However, in the days of the late Chief, one lady could sit higher than Tui Naiau and speak loud in his presence because her mother was his elder sister . . . There is not a word possible against him; he is Tui Naiau. We only live to work in order that he may eat. If he orders pigs to be brought, they are brought; we are not angry.

The Roko Sau is endowed with miraculous efficacy (mana) towards all, not like lesser nobles to his juniors only.

Thus if a lowborn person lies on the bed of the Chief or uses his cloth, the mana of it infects him; he gets a swollen neck or belly. The Roko Sau touches the place to remove the swelling. A dog once drank the water used by Malani, the Tui Naiau, and got a swollen belly. One village chief, a great courtier, says: "There was no famine under Ratu Finau. There was a famine under Maafu, one time Tongan governor, and a severe one under Ratu Erone, but none now; probably because Ratu Finau's rule is justified in Heaven (*ndonu mai Lomalangi*), because he has given up statute labor and first fruits.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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sash on one arm; he may not take the cup with that hand or he will be fined. When he has had his cup the chiefs of the various villages drink also. At Thakombau's installation Ndaulakemba and Metuisela's father each took one end of a sash, folded it, and tied it on the Vunivalu's arm, saying, "Let the bark cloth be tied to be the cloth of your food, the cloth of your riches, also reverence him since he is your lord." Then those who made the kava retired. The two men then brought four hundred whale's teeth; they walked up to the chief carrying them, and half way each crossed over to the other side. The chief held out his arms sideways and they hung whale's teeth upon them till he could no longer bear the weight, then he put them down. Then they loaded his arms again. The nobles of Mbau took off their clothes to those who made the kava. Each man got one bale.

On the day on which the chief drinks until the drinking is over it is forbidden to anyone to go out of doors or for any child to cry. This lasts four nights. After fetching water the men come to the house and call out, "Water!" then the people inside open the door, and one or two big jars are brought in; then the door is shut so that no one may go out. Kava is made at the beginning of the night, then again at cockcrow. This is repeated on four successive nights. During those nights the Vunivalu and Ndaulakemba sleep out of doors. All those nights no lights are allowed out of doors, and if any canoe come in sight the men go out and seize it. That is why the kava is feared, for any one caught outside is fined. At the end of the four nights the chief bathes; then they fire off muskets so that the whole land may hear that he has bathed; then all the people are set free and anyone who wishes to come to Mbau by sea or land may come. When the chief of Mbau was about to bathe, the men of Soso and of Lasakau used to go secretly to some village and kill a man for the bathing. Of old they had men for the bathing feast. The body was offered up to the chiefs of Levuka, baked and eaten.

OFFERINGS

Food and manufactured articles are continually and on all occasions being offered up with prescribed ceremonials. The general term for making a presentation of food or other articles is "to make a feast, to make goods" (*vala mangiti, vala i yau*). The term *vakathambo* refers more particularly to the act and formula of offering up. This ceremonial is the foundation of all Fijian ceremonial.

If it is a ceremonial gift, the person to whom it is offered sits cross-legged at the upper end of the room, if it is indoors, with his herald at his side. Those making the presentation come and sit with legs crossed near the door; their herald crawls forward and sits down cross-legged opposite the recipient, and lays down the gift (some old men kneel with knees apart and sit on their heels); the herald claps his hands with palms crossed, perhaps five times, bends forward and, laying both hands on the gift, says,

> Hm, a small [names the article] I am touching here [again names the article] for you the gentleman of So-and-so. It is well known to you that our land is a poor land, a land of famine, where not a tree grows. Just what we have found we have brought. If it is small bear with it. My speech is lengthy, let it be offered up and emerge.[11]

[11] The last sentence is fixed; in Fijian it runs: *"Sa mbalambalavu e nggou vosa ka sosora thake tu yani ka tuuuva."* *Sosora* is a ceremonial word; *soraki* is Rewan for *vakathambori*.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

semi-private. A visitor remains in the lower end of the house unless especially invited by the owner into the middle of the house, which is reserved for relatives and people of high rank. The upper part of the house (*longgi*) is reserved for the owner. A visitor may enter a house by the entrance at the lower end only, unless he is especially invited by the owner to use one of the two side doors (*katumba yasa*). A close relative of the owner may use either side door. A private door (*katumba kumbu i thake*) at the upper end of the large house is used for removing dead bodies from the house.

When a visitor enters a house, he stoops to show respect to the owner. Formerly, according to natives, stooping was necessary because of the low doorways. In the house the visitor sits down immediately. Both men and women sit with knees flexed and legs crossed, the men with both feet resting on the floor. Old natives say that women formerly sat with knees flexed and feet on one side. The Tongan women sat with knees flexed, legs crossed, and one foot resting on the floor while the other rested on the opposite knee. Today women sit in either fashion.

A crowd sits in formation similar to the kava circle (p. 69), the highest ranking visitors along the side walls toward the middle of the house, those of lower rank (including women and children) near the main doorway. Occasionally the men sit on one side of the lower end and the women on the other. When a ranking individual enters a crowded house a place is made for him according to his rank. To take his place, he walks in front of and not behind the other guests. Natives say it is forbidden to pass behind, because in olden days a man might club another from behind.

Presentation of Gifts

Most ceremonials involve the presentation and reception of gifts. They are based on the ceremonial presentation (*seruseru*) pattern, which varies in detail according to occasion and participants. The gifts consist mainly of first fruits, kava, cooked feasts, whales' teeth, tapa, mats, canoes, and wooden bowls.

First Fruits

The ceremonial presentation pattern is a variation on the one formerly used for the offering of the first fruits of the land (*seru ni vanua*) to the priest at the god house. Today first fruits are presented to the chief. The following ceremony, recorded at Undu, illustrates the pattern.

The chief of crops offers a bunch of coconuts (called *i vono ni vanua*) to the chief, who sits in the center of the upper part of his house. It is received by the chief's herald, who sits to the right of and lower than the chief.

Chief of crops: with bunch of coconuts bows at the door of the chief's house cries, "O . . . oa" (cry of welcome to chief).

Herald: "Vinaka" (Very good).

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

SITTING DANCE

The sitting dance (*vakamalolo*) is the most popular dance form among the women. The dancers wear kilts of tapa and wreaths around their necks and wrists, and their bodies are oiled. They sit cross-legged in one or more rows facing the group for whom the *meke* is being given. The youngest girls sit at the ends of the rows. Suddenly one woman, chosen for her shrill, high voice, begins intoning the words of the *meke* and immediately the group gestures and the accompanying beat of the *meke* drum begins. The sitting dance is occasionally accompanied by the bamboo drum.

A sitting dance recorded on Kambara follows:

Tandrua levu ka sa na thiri koto,	The double canoe is anchored there,
Au mbutuka na nuku ka lombolombo,	Where I landed the sand is soft,
Era vei talanoa, era nggoro	They were very much surprised
Wangga ni Mburotu ri ka sa na songgo	When we arrived in the Mburotu canoe
Uru tiko nai ndreke i na koro.	And anchored near the village.
Nai mboi ni'yasi kula, yasi ndromo,	The scent of red sandalwood, golden sandalwood,
Nai mboi ni mamba tu na mothelolo,	The scent of *mamba* with *mothelolo*,
Nai mboi ni makita thuruoso	The scent of *makita* creeps into the village
Ka laki mbotea na loma ni koro.	And fills it with fragrance.

FAN DANCE

The fan dance (*meke iri*) is usually performed by women, each dancer holding a fan of pandanus decorated with streamers of dyed hibiscus bark. The fan accompanies the rythm of song and body in the sitting dances as well as in dances where the women stand or walk slowly to-and-fro. In the sitting dance it is often struck on the ground or against the palm of the hand. A fan dance chanted by Tatchini of Kambara follows:

Endua na thangi thava ukaya—endua na theve,	What wind is blowing—the southeasterly,
E liku so via noi mba ni vandra,	It shakes the boughs of the pandanus trees,
E mo thangera noi vuna a vuana,	The fruit has fallen to the ground,
E mbuku a sila kau royawa,	The sheet of the canoe is fast,
E *Ruve Kula* e mbale malua,	The *Red Pigeon* is heeling badly,
Na kenai sele u laki kauuta,	I take a knife to cut the rigging loose,
Mosi yaketenggu kau lualua,	My belly hurts and I vomit,
E ro mbalei ndaku ni vanua,	We sail around to the other side of the land.
Au via ndrondro ula au via.	
E vuka na manu mai wasawasa,	The birds are flying from the sea,
Kena iri kauthia vava,	Their wings fanning in the breeze,
Rasuka ki wai rambutuka vata,	They return to sea flying together,
Ramusuka ekere a thangi amba.	Soon they encounter bad weather.
Tangitha na ruve u laki vasuka,	The pigeon pledges the return of his comrades,

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

643 574 Ratu Finau, the high chief of Lau. Assemblies of the men of the island made arrangements for the reception. The women on both sides of the island began to practice *meke* two months before he was expected. A canoe, sent from Nggalinggali to Wangava to secure turtles, returned with six, and they were placed in the turtle fence in the lagoon near Nggalinggali to await the feast. The finishing touches were applied to two sailing canoes, which had been under construction for the past six months. One was built by the west side and one by the east side of the island. The women worked on two mat sails for the canoes and on two long pieces of barkcloth.

During the preparations a dispute arose between the two sides of the island regarding the program. The east side wished to hold separate ceremonies in Nggalinggali. The headman of Tokalau village insisted that the two sides cooperate in ceremonies held at Tokalau since the chief would probably not have time to go to Nggalinggali or to witness two sets of ceremonies. Several meetings of the island elders took place concerning the disagreement. Long speeches were made and whispered conferences held. The dispute was settled when the chief arrived and his herald announced he could stay only a few hours. All the ceremonies were held at Tokalau. The envoy to Lakemba, who was in charge of the ceremonies, chose representatives from the clans of the chief group.

The ceremonies began when the elders of the island paddled a canoe out to the chief's cutter and the headman of Tokalau village presented a whale's tooth ceremonially to the chief on behalf of the island. After the presentation the flag was lowered, so this ceremony is called hauling down the flag (*luva ni tawake*). Next, the same man presented a second whale's tooth, a ceremony called weighing the anchor (*thavu ni kelekele*). Then the Kambara people went ashore.

[516 576] Some time later the chief's wife landed. She was received by the women of the village who sat cross-legged to show respect along the avenue through which she passed on her way to the village. Then the chief accompanied by his herald landed, and he was greeted in the same way by the men. The chief, his wife and his retainers were escorted by the island elders to a pavilion outside the government house for the wading (*nggalonggalovi*) ceremony. The chief sat at the upper end of the pavilion, his wife on his right, and one herald sat on either side of the pair. The island elders formed a kava circle, according to rank.

A bunch of green coconuts (*i vono ni vanua*) was presented to the chief by the chief of crops. The natives say the purpose of this ceremony is to let the chief know that the products of the land are at his disposal. Next a coconut-leaf mat (*tambakau*) was presented to the chief's wife. Then an offering of dry kava root was prepared and drunk. During the kava ceremony, Tongan [431] songs were sung by the Kambaran men. This was not part of the ceremonial

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

Netting and Rope

Fishlines

The process of making fishlines was witnessed only on the island of Fulanga. Fishlines are made only by women in Lau, but men occasionally help to procure from the bush *ronga* bark, from which the lines are made. The bark is stripped from the *ronga* branches in pieces from 2 to 3 meters long and rolled into coils (*pupu*), a process called *thimbini*. The next day the coils are unrolled and the outer bark is stripped off, a process called *kulina*. 283

Figure 19.—Fishline technique. First step in rolling shreds of *ronga* bark into two-ply twist: two strands of two shreds each are held, one end of each strand between thumb and first finger of the left hand, so that thumb separates strands.

The inner bark (*leuve ni kulina*) is sunned for several days until it is dry and white, a process called *singani*, and then it is hung indoors until needed. Before shredding the inner bark it is placed in the lagoon and scraped with a *kuku* shell, a process called *kalui*. It is dried in the sun again and then softened and scraped into shreds with a *ndamba* shell. To roll the shred into a two-ply twist, a woman proceeds as follows:

She sits with knees straight and legs crossed left over right in front of her. She places a bundle of shreds in her lap, then takes two strands of two shreds each and holds one end of each strand between thumb and first finger of the left hand, so that the thumb separates the strands (fig. 19). With the right hand she rolls each strand into a ply on the bare calf of her left leg. One movement away from the body usually suffices. With her right hand, she separates the two plies from her left thumb to the ends. Then she rolls the two plies on her calf into a two-ply twisted cord, with one movement away from her body and another toward it. This completes about 7 cm. of cord. She separates the two plies at the unfinished end of the line and repeats the process until one ply becomes short and thin. Then she adds another shred of bark from the pile in her lap by placing it beside the weak ply and holding the two between thumb and first finger. With her right hand she pulls the new shred toward the unfinished end of the cord until she holds it with her thumb about 3 cm. below the upper end. She turns this upper end down along the second ply (which has not been reinforced) and proceeds. [514]

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

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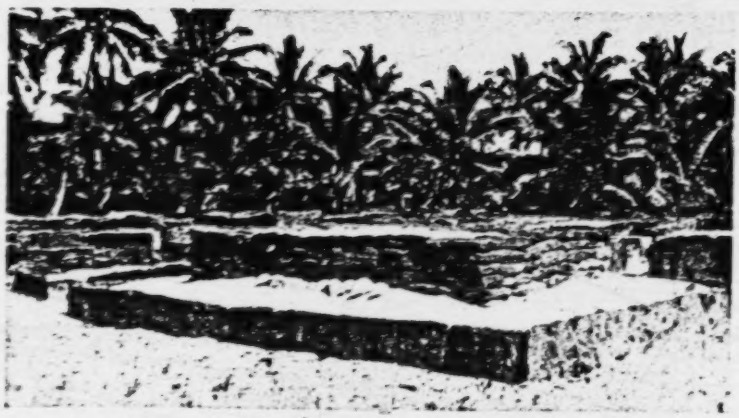

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B

A, DEATH RITES FOR HIGH CHIEF OF LAKEMBA. A LONG STRIP OF TAPA (TONGAN *NGATU*) STRETCHING FROM THE CHIEF'S HOUSE TO THE BURIAL MOUND FORMS A CARPET FOR THE FUNERAL PROCESSION. WOMEN IN MOURNING SIT WITH BOWED HEADS ON EITHER SIDE. B, GRAVE OF THE CHIEF OF KAMBARA IN THE CEMETERY AT TOKALAU VILLAGE, KAMBARA. THE EARTH MOUND OF RECTANGULAR GROUND PLAN IS SHAPED LIKE A TRUNCATED PYRAMID WITH TWO STONE-FACED STEPS. TEN CONCH SHELLS BLOWN AT THE FUNERAL LIE ON THE FIRST STEP.

[End Plate 1]

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

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B

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C

A, EARTH OVEN BEING PREPARED BY TWO YOUTHS FOR A WEDDING FEAST AT NAIVINDAMU VILLAGE, PULANGA. IN FOREGROUND ARE BASKETS OF BREADFRUIT, AT RIGHT A WOODEN BOWL (*PAPASIA*) FILLED WITH GRATED MANIOC. B, PULANGA YOUTHS PREPARING FERMENTED MANIOC FOR EARTH OVEN. C, WOMEN OF TOKALAU VILLAGE, KAMBARA, OUTLINING DESIGN ON LARGE PIECE OF TAPA (TONGAN *NGATU*).

[End Plate 2]

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

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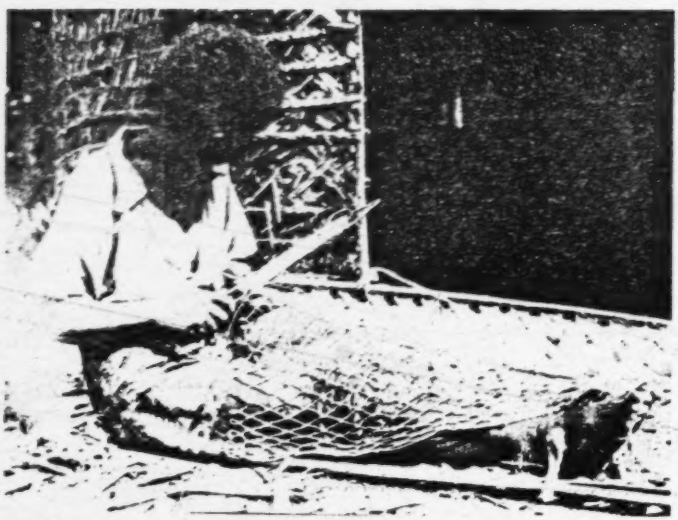

B

A, UNMARRIED GIRL OF MUANAITHAKE VILLAGE, FULANGA, WEARING "VIRGIN LOCKS" OVER LEFT EAR. B, WOMAN OF NAIVINDAMU VILLAGE, FULANGA, MAKING A FISHNET.

[End Plate 3]

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

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A Fijian Fishergirl

She wears a bright red *lavalava* and in her hair a sprig of fragrant leaves. Around her neck, tangled in a garland of tiny flowers, hangs a pair of imported diving goggles.

[Facing p. 14]

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

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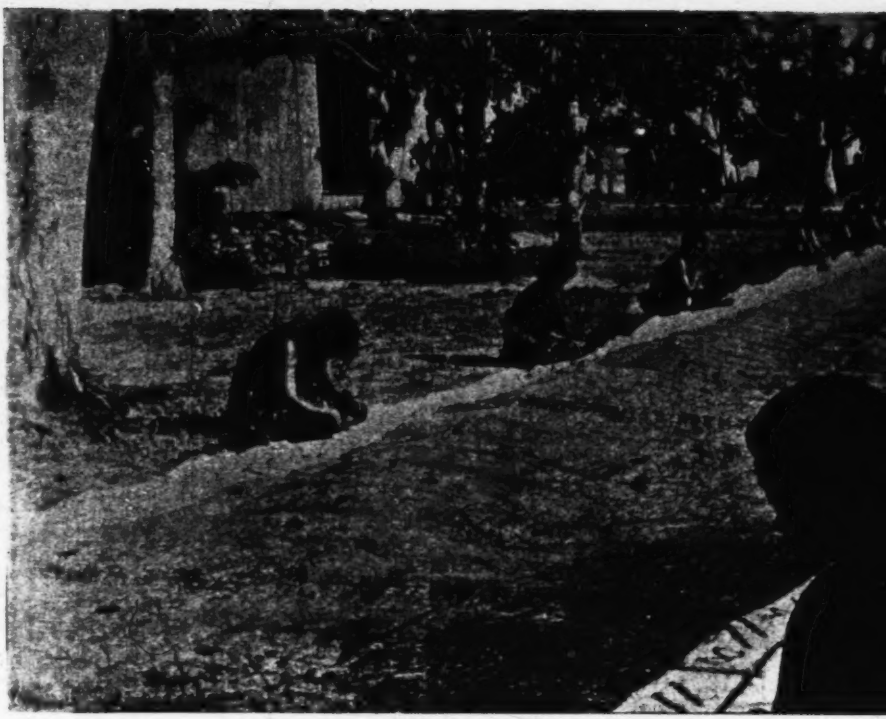
VIRGIN LOCKS

As a sign of virginity a lock of hair over one ear is twisted into many tiny cords which are not cut until after the wedding night.

[FACING p. 58]

[facing p. 84]



DEATH OF THE HIGH CHIEF

The route of the funeral procession is carpeted with long strips of tribute bark
women of high rank.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

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h and bordered by seated

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date) 1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

*539 [516] "You must know, sir," he began, settling himself down on the mat and fixing his back comfortably against a post, "that in the days of our fathers there was often drought in the land of Ono, and we of Matokano town suffered terribly at times. But there was always the fertile Tuvana Island[1] for us to fall back upon in our distress; for Tuvana is near to the island of the gods, and shelters beneath their benevolence. And so it came about that one day there sailed a large canoe-load of people of Matokano town (both men and women) for Tuvana, to gather coco-nuts and other food. Now, when they reached the island at sunset—for it is distant a day's sail from Ono—they quickly gathered some food and cooked it, and then lay down to sleep in a rough shelter that stood there, at a place called 'Butoni,' for use on such occasions as these. And the next day when they awoke they perceived that a strong wind had arisen in the night, and they discussed the question of taking back the women with them or of leaving them there for a few days; for the matter of the food at Matokano was urgent, and the men, at all events, must needs take provisions back to Ono without delay.

"Now, one of them, Tui Liku by name, was of a roving spirit; a handsome man, and a great

[1] An uninhabited island twenty-five miles south of Ono, the last of the Fijis.

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date) 1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

being one of the most common, as the Polynesian Lauan—true to type—is by nature more light-fingered than his semi-Papuan brother of Fiji.

I asked the man what he saw; and, seating himself cross-legged in the attitude of respect, he politely answered, "It is nothing, sir, I was but thinking of Filipi, a man formerly of my town."

"And what about Filipi? What did he do?" I inquired.

"He is dead," he answered, looking down at the deck.

Knowing from the man's attitude that there was something behind all this I asked him freely to tell me all. No one enjoys "spinning a yarn" more than a South Sea islander when he really gets started, and many interesting old legends, and, incidentally, helpful facts in my work, have I picked up in this way on some of my lengthy sea-journeys about the group.

"It was this way, sir," he began. "It was said that *dua na vakadraudrau ca* (some evil magic) was performed at that place there," pointing with his chin—the same gesture his Malayan ancestors had used thousands of years before—at the little bay we were passing. "I know nothing of it myself," he hastily added. "It is only what I have heard, and it happened years ago, just before you, sir, first came to Lau. Now, Filipi and a man of Nayau Island were doing

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date) 1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

123 and walked along for some distance, the islanders
574 joining our little retinue behind and asking, with many jests and flashes of white teeth, the latest gossip from "the capital." Presently, a horse-
123 man approached, splendidly upright, and making
574 a fine picture with his great head of hair carefully
492 combed out, and his proud cast of countenance. But his saddlery would hardly have passed muster in Rotten Row, for it consisted of a loose sack thrown across the pony, and a short length of rope twisted loosely round the animal's nose by a noose in the middle, the two ends running backwards to form the reins! Equipped thus, he yet maintained a beautiful seat; and at our approach vaulted off with an astonishing dexterity, and remained standing until we had passed, a smile of welcome lighting up his handsome
[576] features.[1] I heard my clerk ask him where he was going (the usual form of salutation in these islands, and not intended for unseemly curiosity), and his reply was, "To the next town to let them know the Turagas have arrived."

123 On nearing the town our approach was sighted
574 by watchful boys, who raced back with a flash of
[534] brown legs, and presently we heard the deep booming of the *lali*[2] announcing our arrival.
516 Passing along the main street of the town, bor-
[576]

[1] According to Polynesian custom no one may be (literally) raised to a higher position than a chief.
[2] Hollow wooden drum.

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dered with shady bread-fruit trees and carpeted with beautifully kept short turf, we came suddenly in the darkness upon an avenue of living torch-holders, all seated cross-legged as a mark of respect, and holding aloft their flaring torches of tied up reeds. In each man's hand was a piece of broad banana leaf, hollowed to form a cup, and filled with sand, into which the dropping fiery fragments of the torch were caught. The dancing lights threw into strong relief the powerful features of the men, sitting silent as a row of graven images; while dimly in the shadows behind could be seen rows of spectators, men, women, and children, all silent and motionless until we reached the appointed spot, when, at a given signal by the chief, the deep *tama* was given by a hundred throats, a sound impossible to set down on paper, but not unlike a long-drawn exclamation, "o-o-a."

Taking our seats at one end of this double line, beneath a square canopy of bamboos and many-fronded palm leaves, we found that all was in readiness for the *Kavakavanua*, or ceremony. First of all appeared at the far end of the line a pair of very old men, facing us and kneeling side by side, and holding up on their folded arms a small oblong *tabakau*, or mat of woven coco-nut leaves. They then advanced, still on their knees, and in perfect time, progressing by a curious

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before the days of the *matanitu*, it was not always so. When Ma'afu first ruled here there arose the origin of much land-quarrelling, and the Tongans always secured the best pieces. Though before that, in the times of Tui Nayau, and even in the older days when the 'Sau'[1] held sway, there were no incessant squabbles as to land."

"And do you remember the early Tuis Nayau?" I asked, offering him a cigar, which he politely refused, preferring the powerful native tobacco of a *suluka*,[2] which he produced.

"Yes, indeed," he replied; "was not Malani—the first chief to be truly installed in Lakeba as 'Tui Nayau'—my grandfather? His father was Rasolo, also a 'Tui Nayau,' but he was so appointed over at Nayau Island.

"At the time when I was born, which is but some ten or so short of a hundred years ago, a 'Sau' reigned in the land. It is true that the Tuis Nayau to this day are also installed as the 'Sau,' but the title they are always known by is 'Tui Nayau,' or Lord of Nayau; although we are Lakeba people, and Nayau is but an island subject to us; and if it is your wish to know how it came about I will tell you.

"You know, sir," said he, settling himself cross-legged on the mats, in the position of ease for a South Sea islander, but of torture for those

[1] Supreme Chief; a title.
[2] A cheroot of tobacco wrapped in dried banana-leaf.

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of a Western civilization, "that the Chief of Lakeba Island may not be called Tui Lakeba, or Lord of Lakeba, for that is the title of a god —but that is another story. I have it in my mind to tell you of this Rasolo, the son of Niumatawalu, High Chief of Lakeba, and of how he was driven for many years from island to island throughout the ocean, till at length he came back to his own people and to his rights as chief of the land. I often heard from my father, Wiliami Vuetesau, the tale of Rasolo's wanderings.

"Rasolo was even an exile when born, for his father Niumatawalu (being luckily away at Cakaudrove when the family of Qoma from Lakeba murdered old Delaivugalei, his father, at a Nayau feast) dared not return either to Nayau or Lakeba, but settled at Totoya Island. And it was there that Rasolo was born, his mother being Tarau, daughter of the Chief of Ketei town.

"And when in course of time Niumatawalu, with a fleet of canoes from Totoya, came back to Lakeba and defeated the followers of Qoma, he was *buli'd*[1] as *Sau*; and on his death his eldest son, Ului Lakeba, was likewise *buli'd* as *Sau*. Now Ului Lakeba had a young and beautiful wife named Tuisala, of whom he was very jealous. And one day Rasolo and some of his brothers went to the house of Ului Lakeba,

[1] Appointed or installed.